5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
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If he cannot do so, the things are still presented; for, in the case of a marriage, the relations on both sides are anxious to do all that they can to give the young people a good start in life. When all is ready, the girl goes to the lodge where her husband lives, and goes in. If this lodge is too crowded to receive the couple, the young man will make arrangements for space in the lodge of a brother, cousin, or uncle, where there is more room. These are all his close relations, and he is welcome in any of their lodges, and has rights there.

Sometimes, if two young people are fond of each other, and there is no prospect of their being married, they may take riding horses and a pack horse, and elope at night, going to some other camp for a while. This makes the girl's father angry, for he feels that he has been defrauded of his payments. The young man knows that his father-in-law bears him a grudge, and if he afterwards goes to war and is successful, returning with six or seven horses, he will send them all to the camp where his father-in-law lives, to be tied in front of his lodge. This at once heals the breach, and the couple may return. Even if he has not been successful in war and brought horses, which of course he does not always accomplish, he from time to time sends the old man a present, the best he can. Notwithstanding these efforts at conciliation, the parents feel very bitterly against him. The girl has been stolen. The union is no marriage at all. The old people are ashamed and disgraced for their daughter. Until the father has been pacified by satisfactory payments, there is no marriage. Moreover, unless the young man had made a payment, or at least had endeavored to do so, he would be little thought of among his fellows, and looked down on as a poor creature without any sense of honor.

The Blackfeet take as many wives as they wish; but these ceremonies are only carried out in the case of the first wife, the "sits-beside-him" woman. In the case of subse-

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Although a woman, all her life, was subject to some one's orders, either parent, relative, or husband, a man from his earliest childhood was free and independent. His father would not punish him for any misconduct, his mother dared not. At an early age he was taught to ride and shoot, and horses were given to him. By the time he was twelve, he had probably been on a war expedition or two. As a rule in later times, young men married when they were seventeen or eighteen years of age; and often they resided for several years with their fathers, until the family became so large that there was not room for them all in the lodge.

There were always in the camp a number of boys, orphans, who became the servants of wealthy men for a consideration; that is, they looked after their patron's horses and hunted, and in return they were provided with suitable food and clothing.

Among the Blackfeet, all men were free and equal, and office was not hereditary. Formerly each gens was governed by a chief, who was entitled to his office by virtue of his bravery and generosity. The head chief was chosen by the chiefs of the gentes from their own number, and was usually the one who could show the best record in war, as proved at the Medicine Lodge,[1] at which time he was elected; and for the ensuing year he was invested with the supreme power. But no matter how brave a man might have been, or how successful in war, he could not hope to be the chief either of a gens or of the tribe, unless he was kind-hearted, and willing to share his prosperity with the poor. For this reason, a chief was never a wealthy man, for what he acquired with one hand he gave away with the other. It was he who decided when the people should move camp, and where they should go. But in this, as in all other important affairs, he generally asked the advice of the minor chiefs.

The *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi* (All Comrades) were directly under

[1] See chapter on Religion.

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scattered because of the limited food supply;[20] in summer, they "tended to collect and move about, both for trade and for the hunt."[21] Band endogamy was "not good form but not criminal."[22] Residence, in general, was patrilocal,[23] the young couple setting up their tipi alongside the groom's father's. It was not unusual, however, for a man to join his wife's band upon marriage.[24]

Equally significant in Blackfoot social organization were the men's societies[25] which had "certain names, fixed rules and laws, as well as their peculiar songs and dances" and which served "in part to preserve order in the camp, on the march, in the hunting parties."[26] As early as the 1830's, seven such "unions" were noted, their members usually joining the youngest and gradually rising higher through the others.[27] Entrance depended upon the payment of a fee, a medicine man and persons of distinction buying in at greater cost.[28]

These nomads, or "equestrian natives" as Cocking called them,[29] were particularly favored by circumstance. Their country was well stocked with the buffalo upon which they depended for food, shelter, and clothing; their early possession of the horse and the gun, and their comparative freedom from white pressure gave ample opportunity for effective hunting and substantial profit from an expanding fur trade. This profit was measured in horses. Not only did the horse become their most valued possession, but among them, as elsewhere on the Northern Plains, it formed the chief medium of exchange. Everything—trade goods, bride price, ceremonial privilege, and often personal support—was acquired by the payment of horses. In most instances, the loss of capital was only temporary: medicine bundles, pipes, and society memberships were actually investments[30] that could be resold, sometimes even at a profit, and distributions to maintain prestige were, in effect, convenient forms of credit. Expectancy is succinctly expressed in the oft-heard comment, "If a Blood gives a horse away one day,

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[20] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[21] *Idem.*

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[25] This is the term Wissler uses (See Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, Table of Contents, p. 363.)

[26] Maximilian, Prince of Weid-Neuweid, *Travels in the Interior of North America in the years of 1832–1833 and 1834*, p. 255.

[27] *Idem.*

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 256.

[29] Cocking, *op. cit.*, p. 110. Cf. also p. 111, for a statement on their more favorable situation.

[30] Wissler, *Ceremonial Bundles*, p. 277. Cf. also Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 44 ff.

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593 while their great-aunt struck their father with a tent-pin when he ordered
578 her off his land. They heard their mother accuse her near-relative of sexual indiscretions; they joined their usually mild grandmother as she threw stones at her sister-in-law's departing car.

152 There can be little doubt that children are sensitive to such violent
593 exhibitions, but their reactions vary considerably from situation to situation and from child to child. They may stand by seemingly unmoved, or they may join the fray with considerable enjoyment. They may shriek in fear, as the Pointed Plume children did the night their father and his brother fought so furiously. They may cry continuously, as the Dennis children did at school, because their parents' quarrels had frightened them
[115] so that they didn't want to return home while their father was there. Annie Curtis, a dignified informant of thirteen, gave it as her considered opinion that "girls minded their parents' quarrels more than boys."

857 This may well be so. Training and social sanctions make it easy for the
858 boy to escape an uncongenial home situation. At an early age he learns to ride a horse, at ten he is expected to help his father on the range or in the field. His frequent absences from home cause little comment. Two independent males, one eight, one eleven, laughed at us when we suggested that they tell their mother we were taking them for a swim. Girls' work, on the other hand, ties them to the house. They tend their little brothers and sisters; they learn to cook, to sew, to do beadwork. Only a few have the hardihood to face the certain disapproval that descends upon them when
[593] they stay out over night, even at a relative's. Bound to their homes by work
[578] and convention, they are more exposed than their young brothers to parental quarrels. They may see themselves not only as the little mothers of
[155] today, but as the cruelly beaten wives of tomorrow.

593 Frequently there is no way for boy or girl to avoid an unpleasant scene;
591 but whenever possible, a child will seek a refuge—for a short time if the
578 trouble blows over quickly—for years if it does not. Nellie Bending-Branch lives with her grandmother because her parents quarrel so much. May Big Water has spent most of her days at her grandmother's largely because her father and stepmother fought so frequently. Pointed Plume's adopted "favorite" returned to her own parents when he and his wife quarrelled seriously before separation.

[855] At times, a child is the terrified observer of parental conflict; at times, he is the unhappy victim of parental cruelty. Not infrequently, upon the remarriage of a mother, the children will remain with their grandparents, "because their stepfather might not be good to them." Stepmothers were viewed with equal misgivings, and not without cause. But there are also cases of children so mistreated by an own mother or father, that they have to be rescued by more compassionate, if more distant relatives.

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"The Blackfoot are very fond of their children," wrote Maximilian in 1832;[107] and it would be utterly misleading if today we minimised the passionate warmth that most Blood lavish upon their children, particularly upon their younger offspring and their favorites. But where families are easily broken, where abandonment is not unusual, and where a child on his own initiative frequently seeks a parent substitute, the parent-child relationship necessarily lacks the intensity that distinguishes it in our culture. The trauma of separation is reduced as well as the child's resentment against the parent who has acted without much consideration for his well-being. Not that the hurt is forgotten nor even entirely forgiven, but a Julia Curtis will eagerly recount a visit to a mother who left her at nine to the ministrations of a paternal aunt and married a man on another reserve; a Ned Sloane will speak lovingly of the grandmother who urged that he be "thrown away" because he had caused his mother's death in childbirth; a Myrtle Pointed Plume will show no animosity toward her adopted father (actually her grandfather) although he insisted after she had spent eleven years as a *minipoka* in his household, that she remain with her own parents when he took another wife.

Early in childhood preference patterns are established and these function quickly in time of small strain or great crisis. One mother said that her eldest son always went to the home of his father's mother's sister when trouble was brewing; she herself spent much of her girlhood both before and after her mother abandoned her father, at her father's sister's. Another, speaking of her various children, said, "Myrtle is her grandfather Pointed Plume's favorite; Fanny is her grandfather William's favorite; Rosalie is her grandmother Julia's favorite; Harold is his father's favorite and Otis is mine." Only one, the eldest, was a true *minipoka* (she had been adopted by her paternal grandfather so he could more easily honor her and, what was equally important, continue to enhance his own prestige); but each of the others felt secure in his own brand of favoritism even if it was less ostentatiously expressed.

Despite their informal status, these lesser favorites expected the same privileged treatment from their warm supporters that true favorites received from theirs, and within reason they were not disappointed. When Julia's Rosalie, a child of seven, spilled water and came weeping to her grandmother because she was afraid her sister Myrtle *might* tell on her (which incidentally she showed no disposition to do), the grandmother's only comment as she took the little girl upon her knee was, "Myrtle is so spoiled."

Boys may find a haven with an older sister, but a young girl would hesi-

[107] Maximilian, *Travels*, p. 252.

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sister and never did what he wanted. Many a son leaves his father's house to live with a married sister because he "can't get along with his brothers."

The age-grade is an important mechanism for solidarity, but alternate grades of the men's societies call each other "fighters." Their actions fulfill expectancy. One man, accused of beating his wife excessively, said in extenuation that he couldn't stand the taunts of his "fighters" who continually reminded him of her pre-marital promiscuity. The conflicts and insult techniques that rule between "fighters" are projected upon the family. Quarrels between young children are explained on this basis. A young boy of nine was tussling more or less playfully with his sister's son aged six. The father of the elder boy, who at the same time was the grandfather of the younger, said, "They just can't get along together. They are fighters." Brothers, merely because of age difference, frequently find themselves in opposite camps.

This institutionalization of hostility, however, only reinforces behavior patterns implicit in the basic structure of the society.[200] Rivalrous attitudes, rooted in the conflicting interests and individualistic goals that dominate the society as a whole, are freely expressed in childhood. They are strengthened by early training. They are nourished in adulthood by differences over property, whether in women, animals, or land. Some brothers have not spoken to each other for more than a decade. Mutual assaults are frequent and fraternal murder is not unknown. Familial attachment created no problem in loyalties for Yellow Wolf when he assisted in the police hunt for his notorious brother, Charcoal.

But when economic advantage demands cooperation, hostility may be repressed, if only temporarily. This same Charcoal, after a serious break with Yellow Wolf, joined his haying camp and accepted his leadership again. The White Plume brothers who beat each other up in the early part of the week camped together a few days later and brought in the wheat.

Childhood rivalries between sisters are more apt to be dissipated in later life. In the buffalo period, many an early antagonism was forgotten because the advantage of being a second wife in a sister's household overcame the disadvantage of continued proximity. In the monogamous present, distance mitigates if it does not completely resolve the friction: after marriage, a woman still generally goes to her husband's house.

Other aspects of housing also affect family relationships. In the past, no

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[200] From an anthropological viewpoint, see Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, p. 236; also Ralph Linton, *The Effects of Culture on Mental and Emotional Processes*, pp. 294, 295; also Bronislaw Malinowski, *Culture as a Determinant of Behavior*, particularly pp. 133-139. From a psychoanalytical viewpoint, see Erich Fromm, *Escape From Freedom*, pp. 277-291; also Karen Horney, *The Neurotic Personality of our Time*, p. 188 ff.; also Abram Kardiner, *The Individual and his Society*, p. 55.

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578 matter whether residence was patrilocal or matrilocal, it was customary for
591 a young married couple to have their own tipi. Today, married children, because of the considerable expense and labor involved in building or buying a modern permanent dwelling, frequently bring their spouses into their parents' home. The arrangement inevitably increases the possibility of
[606] discord. If residence is matrilocal, the situation is further complicated by
[178] the traditional mother-in-law "avoidance." Some sons-in-law have ceased to observe this taboo either because it is inconvenient or "old-fashioned." While such a breakdown in restraint may lead to a better understanding between a man and his wife's mother, it may as easily lead to a more overt expression of hostility.

Distant Relatives and Friends

602 Where close familial bonds are so brittle, little can be expected from distant relatives. Henry Arrow-maker, owner of considerable grazing land but no cattle, is on government relief. He spoke eagerly of his rich relative, Bob Double Man, the successful cattle herder. He told of friendly conversations as they met casually in Cardston each week, but only during the summer as he went to and from the beet fields did he stay at Bob's house. The gifts received were nominal indeed: board and lodging for a few days.
574 Such qualities as hospitality and generosity are still stressed as desirables
[577] and even "musts" in the society, but since success depends little upon them, they receive more lip service than support. Friends and relatives still extend a cordial invitation, but the welcome quickly cools. With the best of will, the Curtises invited the Sloanes to stay with them and work with us. Within a few days, although the Sloanes paid board and brought presents, Julia Curtis was complaining of the extra work and maneuvering their early departure. Again, at the Sun dance, she complained that none of the guests who dropped in for meals gave her any assistance: "People expect everything these days," she added.

VI. Biographical Sketches

121 Brief and few though the following sketches are, they reveal in a different
159 way, if not completely, the range of personality types among the Blood, the degree of adaptation to a changing society, and the varying responses to status.

The Men

159 Head Chief. Blanket Man, fifty-six, came of a line of head chiefs. His grandfather was the old chief, Red Crow, who had signed the treaty of 1877. His father, Crop-eared Wolf, succeeded to the chieftaincy. Blanket Man

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affect her designation of the brother himself, his wife and children are now called respectively "daughter-in-law" and "grandchildren." 601

One further distinction should be noted. Though we tend to consider social distance unilinearly as remoteness at one extreme and intimacy at the other, extremely significant qualitative differences in relationship are also involved. Remoteness may be the basis of complete social isolation, or it may form a condition for hate, anger, dominance or exhibition. In Blackfoot culture the social distance of the father's family and the affinal family must be qualitatively distinguished. While the affinal family's social distance implies isolation, the father's family in its remoteness implies authority. This is reflected terminologically, for though ego addresses both his father's father and his wife's father as "grandparent," the father-in-law calls ego "son-in-law," while father's father calls ego "grandson." 602 [593]

From the foregoing remarks the intent of the system seems to be a patrilineal organization. Authority is vested in the father's family, while warm intimacy characterizes the relations to the mother's family. The marriage of a woman implies the severing of relations with her own family and becoming a part of her husband's family. A man by reason of authority based on age and generation would appear to hold together the group of male kinsmen with their wives, sons and unmarried daughters. Indeed, this would be in keeping with the general pattern for the northern Plains and Woodland tribes of North America. [171]

In practise, however, the anarchistic individualism of the Plains changes the emphasis of this system. Family organization is multilineal; living is multilocal. Authority as exemplified in the band system is more like the relationship of landlord to tenant than lord to vassal. It is based on the supposition of a continuous flow of benefits to the submitter, rather than the humble submission to might in return for favors. As a consequence a kinsman uses his relatives for whatever benefits they may bring him. Only those whose wealth enables them to maintain a continuous flow of benefits have the continuity of the ideal system of patrilineally organized groups. But even they, because of their positions, have many besides siblings and their descendants as followers. Relatives through one's mother, through one's wife as well as their kinsmen, in fact any person with the remotest claim of relationship, may come to reap the benefits that a wealthy man distributes. Only in this light can the actual working of the system be understood. [181] [591] [621]

The Orientation Group

Let us first identify the group of relatives in this category and then attempt to justify the distinction. Membership in an orientation group includes ego's father (*nɪn.'a*), mother and her co-wives (*niksɪs'ta*), older brother (*ni'sᵊ*), older sister (*nɪn'sta*), and younger sibling (*niskɔn.'ᵊ* for a 596 601

596 601 male speaker and *nisis.'*[a] for a female speaker).[2] If we extend to ego the position of father in ego's own tipi, we find ego's wife or wives (*nitzki.'man*), son (*nuxku'a*) and daughter (*nitan.'a*); for a female speaker the only additional term needed is the word "husband" (*nom.'a*), the co-wives being addressed as "younger sibling" or "older sister."

596 591 592 [601] The nominal character of this group cannot be denied. We have found no linguistic term to delineate these relatives, though there does exist a suffix to distinguish between siblings living with ego from those living elsewhere. As the conjugal Blackfoot family usually lives in a distinct dwelling from the parents, the orientation group contains not a single household unit but two: ego's parents' household and ego's household as a married adult with family. Though the schema implies patrilocal residence, [593] actually residence is multilocal. Our concept, furthermore, does not allow [606] for the fact that a woman is differently oriented toward her parents than a male by dint of his mother-in-law tabu and sororal polygyny. Only among [587] the economically most impoverished, where even two tipis cannot be mus- [735] tered, could such a group exist in practise.

596 602 601 [124] Our justification for such a group lies in the fact that these relatives are points of orientation toward a larger circle of kinsmen. It is as if the persons of one's own tipi are direct relatives of ego while those outside are mediated through some one who lives or has lived with ego. For example, our term "aunt" implies a direct relationship to ego, but "father's sister" would imply a relationship mediated through father. Though there is some linguistic evidence for this, more positive evidence is the phrasing of our interpreters and informants. One informant, generalizing the forms of address of his affinal relatives, explained: "Those whom my wife calls 'father' or 'mother', I call 'grandparent'..." It would have been quite as easy for our interpreters to have translated "my wife's father is called 'my grandparent'," though this form of expression was not used. Elsewhere we find interpreters translating that a given person was "comrade" of the informant's father. The age of the father, as we shall see presently, is a point of reference for reckoning the form of address to males of father's family. We may infer that the mother also serves as a point of reference, for the members of her family are addressed by a different set of rules. In addition, the wife addresses her husband's family according to rules similar to those used by her husband in addressing his own family. Similarly, the wife's family is addressed in ways comparable to the rules whereby a woman addresses her own kinsmen.

Linguistically, several terms reveal this tendency for the orientation

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[a] All Blackfoot terms for kinsmen are given in the possessive form, first person singular and include "my ——."

The male relatives were obligated to care for the widow. Women did own property, nevertheless, and might dispose of it according to their own wishes, but should they receive horses from a dying man, a close male relative would be obliged to care for this property.

Under the violent fluctuation of economic fortunes due to enemy raids, uncontrolled livestock disease and severe winters, inheritance was usually not a very significant factor in Blackfoot social life. Though there are notorious cases where young men remained idly in camp because they had inherited sufficient horses to make the warpath unnecessary, such cases stand out by dint of their rarity. Most obligations were settled prior to death, and in mourning dissipation of the property was speedy, relatives and non-relatives alike not unwilling to be present at the distraught hand-outs of the dead man's possessions. Then the immediate kinsmen were left to mourn, stripped of property, themselves careless of what happened. Nevertheless, in distributing the property, the prior obligations to siblings as compared with own children is striking.

Throughout life reciprocal obligations between brothers was stressed. In childhood the older brother was responsible for introducing a younger brother into the boy's life of the camps. Later he took his younger brother on his first war party. As repayment for this instruction, the younger brother would give a sizable fraction of his booty to the older, and this practice would continue indefinitely after the young man had showed his capability of independent fighting. Once established as a warrior, the young man would take a still younger sibling on war parties, in order to instruct him. This practice established a chain of obligations to repay older brothers and instruct younger brothers who in their turn would repay their instructors.

Competition for honors was a potentially disintegrating force in the relations between brothers, but this system of obligations solidified fraternal relations. In this light the prior obligations to brothers over sons is to be understood: A man's son normally received aid not from his father but from his father's younger brother who would ordinarily be the son's "older brother." Thus interaction in certain spheres was greater with members of adjacent age grades than with one's parents. This was particularly true with reference to economic exchange, and these economic obligations continued through life, finally to be expressed in a man's last words on his deathbed. The main exception to this rule was with a favored child, where the father himself chose to assume the rôle normally falling to an older brother. In accordance with such sentimental ties, the favored child usually received the bulk of a man's property, in contrast to the usual emphasis on sibling solidarity which succeeded in channeling property toward siblings.

Residence after marriage also assumed no specific forms. Not only might

a man reside in his wife's father's camp or his own father's camp, but he might follow a sibling who lived in the camp of this sibling's in-laws or this sibling's brother-in-law's camp which might be located elsewhere. We have cases of poor men "without any relatives" moving into the camp of a chief and being welcomed despite the absence of blood ties. There was considerable freedom of movement on this basis, and the man usually camped where he was furnished with the greatest economic advantages. 591

Consideration on the basis of terminology alone suggests a patrilineal weighting. A male derived no prestige from the line of females beginning with his sister who called him "older brother." We might regard these females as being sent to another line of males where they would honor all whom they called "grandparent." In keeping with this emphasis was the early marriage of daughters who thus went to live with their husbands before strong personal attachments were formed with their brothers. Substantiating this was the remoteness of a man's children to his sister. Also, as we have seen, honor was accorded the son-in-law by the daughter's parents rather than the daughter. Weighing against such a lineal emphasis, was the important relationship of son-in-law to son and to the parents themselves which firmly united the group. Furthermore, the phrasing of wedlock was that a wife "brought the husband children." In these words Blackfoot underscored cooperation between husband and wife rather than the alternative possibility that the rôle of a wife was solely bearing children for him. The children were his only for the duration of the marriage contract, since they normally followed the mother to her new residence after separation. Terminologically the cooperation of man and woman to produce children may be also seen in the fact that a man calls the children of his wife's sister, even though married to another man, "son" and "daughter." 601 602 601 581 593 [562] [586] [601]

Perhaps a stronger argument for patrilineality was the dramatization by a son of his relationship to his father. In addition to the important position of the father in designating kinsmen, this showed itself in four principal ways. First, we have observed among our informants an eagerness to relate the tales of their father's prowess, a tendency to glorify him as a man great in battle, wealth and generosity. Where one informant's father had disgraced himself by presuming to be a chief when he had no claim to this authority, the informant seized upon his paternal grandfather as a proper alternative to glorify. Another indication of this dramatization is the frequent statement of an informant that he was a favored child. Most of our informants recognized the disadvantage of being favored children since the pampering accorded such a child usually misfitted him for a self-sufficient life after the father's death when many of the favored children went bankrupt. Nevertheless, informants persisted in stating that they were favored children. The desirability of being a favored child was, first, that one's own 593 554 601 [558] 593 858 554

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593 status was thereby elevated because of having received some sacred objects,
858 and, second, it was an oblique way of stating that one's father was wealthy,
554 hence a hard worker and a man of accomplishment. Further evidence for paternal glorification may be seen in the almost monomanic anxiety over
597 being an adopted child. Any rebuff that a son might be given was frequently
593 the stimulus for morbid preoccupation over the reality of the blood relation-
[152] ship to the person he called father. In adopting a child, parents took elaborate precautions to show even greater affection toward the adopted child than toward their own in order to prevent this child from suspecting his adoption. When a child or grown person discovered this fact, it was a trau-
593 matic experience from which recovery was slow and difficult. Further indi-
626 cation of the importance of the paternal rôle in the life of a male was the universal comment made when a man deviated from acceptable behavior.
[867] People said, "He did not listen to his father's words." This had direct reference to the series of moral lectures that every father was supposed to make
593 to his children. Another aspect was the concept of inheritance of personality
827 characteristics from the father. This was particularly true of males who were supposed to inherit their father's courage in battle, memory for ritual, generosity, or eccentricities. Females were thought to inherit more from their mothers. On one occasion the question arose in a discussion with an informant as to why certain individuals did not listen to the moral lectures of their fathers. Our informant on this occasion stated that it was because they had inherited this particular deafness to the paternal sermons from their fathers who in turn had also not heeded the dicta of their fathers.

584 Certain prerogatives accorded the woman's family served to heighten the importance of the mother's family. Foremost among these was the privilege of the woman's parents to assume the initiative in soliciting marriage for
[581] their daughter. Indeed, it was frequent that a wealthy man picked a son-in-
[858] law who was poor but energetic with the aim of receiving his assistance in the camp. We have statements to the effect that on this account daughters were somewhat preferred to sons in that through them the circle of one's
585 followers and helpers could be more readily enlarged. Of conceivable sym-
● [591] bolic importance was the fact that the woman's parents usually provided the first tipi with its furnishings for the new son-in-law, for this suggests that in
586 the remote past the son-in-law was actually living matrilocally. Furthermore, a woman usually returned to the camp of her parents or brothers with her unmarried children after the dissolution of a marriage. The husband
736 thereby lost whatever influence he may have had over the children. In the
[688] case of a woman whose husband died when she was too old for ready remarriage, her sons, by then economically self-sufficient, were expected to care for her, and they would accord her the authority due an elderly person in making important decisions.

of two grandchildren and created a grandparent-grandchild household. The other members of these households fissioned into nuclear and dependent nuclear families. The composition of one household (Case #3) changed because a woman and her only child were killed in an auto accident. The widower moved to Browning, and set up a nuclear household by marrying a divorcee and assuming care of her children.

The shifts evident in Diagram I are toward fission of diverse household members. Elders become heads of late stage types (single person and grandparent-grandchild) and younger persons become members of dependent or independent nuclear families. The data presented here also indicate a rate of transition among independent nuclear families of about three per cent per year. I suspect, based on previous observations, that these changes occur frequently.

Grandparent-Grandchild Households

This household form is somewhat more changeable than I had suspected during my earlier visit to the rural region. Grandparents who assume the care of grandchildren oftentimes provide for grandchild inheritance of grandparental properties, and the relationship is almost identical to a parent-child association. Yet in two cases parents whose marital and financial circumstances markedly improved, reclaimed their children, and in another case a grandchild moved into the household of a married female cousin. The remaining four grandparent-grandchild households remain of this type. Here we see then, three formerly grandparent-grandchild households moving into the final

592 Another difference between elder and younger heads of female-
431 headed households is experience in the management of their incomes;
591 there is also a difference in the number of kinsmen available to each
602 type of household for assistance. The elder females have long managed on low incomes, learning through experience to parcel their resources carefully. The younger female household heads once resided with their parents or other kinsmen. Their temporary stays with these kinsmen were marked by periods of re-adjustment to their marital disruption and subsequent courtships by new male acquaintances. When the adjustments were made and no new marital unions were forthcoming, they then sought welfare aid in locating separate quarters. They, unlike the elder female heads, had their parents or other elder kinsmen to call on for aid, while the elder females have only their married children to call on, most of whom were already over-crowded in their residences. These observations offer some explanations as to why elder females remain in separate dwellings. Additionally, some other elder females already own their dwellings and are therefore better able to sustain themselves on low incomes.

128 This leaves ten additional low income, independent nuclear family households to explain as part of exceptions to the hypothesis tested in previous chapters.

592 One of the ten is a very large grandparent-grandchild household
591 with a total of ten persons (two grandparents and eight grandchildren).
602 The elderly couple who head this household assumed the responsibility of raising their eight grandchildren following the death of the

youngsters' parents in the flood of 1964. The elderly couple inhabits a flood house in Moccasin Flat, the poorer section of Browning. The grandchildren occasionally stay with their uncles or aunts in the rural districts when school is not in session. There are no available kinsmen who can manage the care of eight additional children in their households year around since all are now raising sizable families of their own. The grandparent-grandchild household, although overcrowded and seriously underfunded, is an exceptionally happy one. The children deeply love their grandparents and are unfailingly eager to assist with household tasks, including care of younger siblings.

Near this low-income grandparent-grandchild household is a low-income nuclear family. The female spouse of the household head is a niece of the female and male in the Grandparent-grandchild household. The dwelling is owned and rented by the elders. Assistance from the elders is meager, except for the provision of a dwelling at minimal cost. The young family has two other kinsmen available in Browning who could assist them--a married brother and married sister of the female--but these, too, are involved in raising sizable families. They have above average incomes, are climbing out of the poverty their parents knew, and are disinclined to offer money assistance to other related families.

Two other cases, both large households, cope as best they can with their meager resources. There is substantial assistance between the two; one is headed by the father of the male household head in the other. Transportation, child care, and occasional pooling of cash

592 511 602 476 occur between the two households. No other kin are immediately available to offer aid to either of the cases.

The thirteenth exception consists of a nuclear family household whose head is in his fifties and who, along with his spouse, cares for a brother (of the male head) and four offspring. The only kinsmen available to this family who can give assistance is a son whose small nuclear family inhabits a BIA trailer in the government compound in (434) Browning. The son, his wife and infant are struggling on a $4,000 per annum income, yet they assist the male's parents with cash whenever possible.

At this point I have discussed thirteen cases which are exceptions to the hypothesis. The fourteenth, another independent nuclear (434) family household, is headed by a 55-year-old male who earns $3,700 per annum, a sum very close to the cut-off point used in Table 23. Next door to this sizable household (eight persons in all) reside a married daughter, her husband and one offspring. Mutual aid is frequent between the households. Male and female in the younger family are fully employed. They are occasionally able to assist the elders with some cash, 592 602 476 but generally labor and transportation are given mutually. These households, in their economic dealings with each other, are similar in operation to the household clusters described and analyzed by Robbins (1968a, 1968b), as is the low-income grandparent-grandchild household which provides a dwelling for a married niece, which may also be properly 602 591 592 placed in this category. These cases suggest that kinship neighborhoods may be fairly common in Browning. My sample certainly suggests this

602 possibility, as the cases discussed below strongly indicate. I know no
591 household head or his spouse who does not have some closely related kin
592 in or near Browning.

592 Another case further illustrates mutual kin and economic ties.
602 This consists of a male, age 39, who heads a large independent nuclear
406 family. While his income is low--but $2,700 in 1967--he was at the time
(434) engaged in ranching, an undertaking that permitted some economic ameni-
ties such as meat for the family larder which is not reflected in cash
(625) income. Presently the man and his family reside in Browning where the
(464) man is employed as a policeman for the Tribe; he and his family live
near the man's mother. The mother is the head of a grandparent-grand-
child household (only one grandchild). Food, transportation services,
and household work are mutual between these households. The male, how-
ever, is now able to assist his mother more frequently than in the past.
(128) This is the fifteenth exception to my hypothesis.

(434) One of the remaining three cases is a conjugal pair whose house-
hold income is $2,700, which yields a well above average per capita
figure. Of the final two cases, one consists of a small nuclear family
which receives considerable aid from the female spouse's mother--labor,
some cash, and occasionally quarters (in summer). The other resides in
Browning within two blocks of the low-income household in which her
daughter resides.

592 The eighteenth and final case is a middle-age couple hosting ten
511 offspring and one grandchild. The household income is a meager $3,300
per annum. The hardships facing this family from week to week are

terribly unpleasant. The only kinsmen in Browning this family has is a married brother to the male head. The brother, however, struggles to make a living on a small income; he and his spouse (no other dependents) occupy a small ramshackle dwelling in Moccasin Flat. The eleven-person, low-income family calls upon anyone it possibly can for small loans or food; at times they seek aid from a prominent rancher and friend who lives at Little Badger Creek in the Heart Butte district. It would be most difficult for this family to move in with a host family even if someone were available to offer such aid--the household population could, I believe, prove far too inconvenient for both host and guest families.

I have now explained the eighteen cases which are exceptions to the hypothesis. I add that the nineteen cases in the upper left quadrant in Table 23 maintain their independence to a far greater degree than the eighteen exceptions, although some of them provide some aid to kin and friends. Before taking up the subject of the Browning family cycle a few additional comments are in order.

In my previous analyses (Robbins 1968a, 1968b, 1970) I advanced and confirmed the hypothesis that where family income is low and unstable related families are likely to pool resources by joining under a single roof. But I also pointed out that household clusters (two or more residences located on the land of an elder kinsmen where mutual economic assistance is intense) form to accomplish essentially the ends as are found in multiple-family households. I also discovered that in 1970 two clusters of unrelated persons occurred in Heart Butte. These

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224 136 137 During the late spring and early summer they congregated in enormous herds, migrated along established routes to the richest pastures and fattened on the fresh grass, coming into prime condition from June to August. But in the autumn and winter, when feed was scarcer and less nutritious, they scattered more widely, forming smaller herds, and were compelled to shift more frequently from place to place. These considerations affected not only the methods of hunting but the distribution [361] of population. While there was every advantage in the formation of large groups in summer for organized attack on the great herds, in the winter season there was need for the separation of the people into smaller groups scattered widely over the country.

The Bands

221 361 621 Thus, as among other Plains peoples, the Blackfoot tribes formed effective units for only that part of the year when abundant food and the opportunities for large-scale communal hunting favoured concentration. For the rest of the year they were divided into a considerable number of smaller groups 621 which did not, however, lose their identity during the summer season. These smaller groups or bands were fundamentally economic and social units, camp groups adapted to the requirements of the winter. Each had its delimited territory. [131] Streams, ridges of high ground and other natural features were agreed upon as boundaries between the lands of adjacent camps. The nucleus of such a band was usually a number of male relatives and their families, but it was by no means exclusive; individuals or families from other bands, unless they were undesirable for some special reason, might join them. The remnants of a camp group that had suffered misfortune, or a man who had quarrelled violently with his relations, would join another band and, since habitual residence and participation in group affairs was the only essential condition, such new-comers soon became recognized members and might rise to leadership in the band. An individual was [672] responsible to his band. Every member contributed to any penalties another might incur, and would defend him against [591] attack even if guilty of murder. A woman usually went to live with her husband's group on marriage, and the children were considered as belonging to the father's band, but excep- [595] tions were fairly common. A man might have several wives, but polygyny was probably rare in early times, save in the case of a few influential individuals. The bands of Blackfoot were thus essentially camp groups of relatives mainly connected in the male line, but often including connexions by marriage, and even strangers.

found in a band, then the restriction did not apply. One of my informants, for example, had been born into the All Tall People band but had been raised by his maternal grandmother, a Fish Eater, and later married a Fish Eater. The band affiliation was not important; the blood relationship was.

As a matter of fact, a humorous situation developed among the wealthy Fish Eaters band, as described by an informant (Pantherbone, 1960, pers. comm.): "There are those we called the *Sik-awk-oh-mi-yowi* or Roundabout Fish Eaters," he said. "This referred to men from other bands who were adopted into the Fish Eaters and later married someone from the band. They became Fish Eaters by a roundabout or devious route."

Grinnell's (1892:208) definition, cited earlier, that the Blood bands were patrilocal was also supported by The Reverend John Maclean (1895:251) who said, "The wife goes with her husband to his gens and lives there with him"; yet here again, field research indicated that exceptions were almost as common as the norm. In fact, a matrilocal practice appeared to be quite common where the girl was from a more affluent band and particularly if her father was a chief. For example, a Blood named Bull Shield joined his wife's band, the Scabbies, and became its leader when his father-in-law died in 1878. Another man, Running Rabbit, was a Black Elk but joined the Fish Eaters when he married the favorite daughter of the chief of that band. In later years, he was recognized as a subchief of the group and was appointed a treaty chief by the Canadian government.

When one examines the family of Red Crow, the wealthy head chief of the Blood tribe and leader of the Fish Eaters, the movement of young men to his band is evident. Crop Eared Wolf, a member of the Many Children, joined the Fish Eaters in the 1840s when his sister married Red Crow and he later became its leader; Sleeps On Top, Yellow Creek, and Medicine Pipe Stem transferred from the All Tall People when their sister married Red Crow; and No Chief and Many Mules joined when they married daughters

of the chief. As my informant, Pantherbone (1960, pers. comm.) stated:

> If a man marries, it is his choice as to the band with which they will live. If a man from the Black Elks married a Fish Eater and decided to move to her band, he is transferred and is then considered to be a Fish Eater. He will usually make a choice which is most advantageous to him. One woman, who married a man from another band, had a younger brother. When she moved to her husband's band, she took her brother with her. When this boy grew up and married he could, if he wished, go back to his original band with his wife, he could take her to his sister's husband's band, or he could go to his wife's band. This situation frequently occurred among the Bloods.

These movements among bands were governed largely by the economic and social position of the groups in question. If a wealthy band was noted for its war record and its preoccupation with horse raiding; if it possessed a shaman who consistently brought good luck to the band in hunting; or if the political leadership of a band placed it in a favored position, young men would be encouraged to join its ranks either upon marriage, as a relative of the bride, or even as herders.

External forces that affected the economy or status of a band could also have significant effects. In the 1840s, when the chief factor (i.e., man in charge of the trading post) of the American Fur Co. married the sister of Seen From Afar, the Fish Eaters' chief, his band was immediately placed in a special status. "One reason Seen From Afar was chief," said an informant (Percy Creighton, 1954, pers. comm.), "was that his brother-in-law, Mr. Culbertson, used to give him all kinds of gifts and made him the richest warrior among the Bloods."

Similarly, in 1883 when the Indian agent appointed a man named Calf Tail, a nonentity, as a head chief of the tribe in order to thwart the efforts of a war chief who aspired to that position, many Bloods flocked to the new band. Realizing that the leader was a government appointee, they expected to share in the favors they believed would be forthcoming. Ironically, Calf Tail died within a few weeks of his appointment, leaving the band without their expected windfall, so they were jokingly dubbed the Orphans.

The status of a band usually rested with the